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TRUMAN WARNS KHRUSHCHEV:

DON'T TRY TO "BULLY" WEST

BY HARRY S. TRUMAN

North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc.

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If Khrushchev thinks he can capitalize on the incident of the U-2--with all the questions it raises and the clumsiness with which it had been handled--in order to throw the free world off balance, he has still a great deal to learn

The greatest mistake he can make now is to assume that he can frighten or bully the West into surrender on his terms as a price for co-existence with him--which at best would mean a precarious peace.

I would suggest to Khrushchev that he stop his rocket rattling and probing for soft spots in the alliance of the free people of the world lest he go too far and blunder into danger.

The American people want peace and the world knows it. The American people are making and have been making great sacrifices in the interests of peace.

If Khrushchev thinks there is any clique in the United States that has the influence or the power to incite or maneuver the American people into war against their will, then he is totally ignorant about our people and our government. He is completely

uninformed about how our people are governed and how our people check and retain control of those in whom they vest the authority of government.

Other dictators have grossly miscalculated in their failing to understand the determination and capacity of the American people to maintain their freedom.

I hope Khrushchev will not try to join the ranks of those who have misjudged us.

I had to live through some crises with the Kremlin when I was president. And now, as a plain citizen, looking at the world situation, I would like to offer this observation to the dictators in the Kremlin: the American people cannot be panicked. They are patient and hopeful that peace can be maintained. They will support and encourage their government's efforts to find ways and means to secure the peace. To this end the American people will see to it that we possess the necessary strength until such time as the United Nations will have the means of settling disputes and differences between nations.

Whatever problems of leadership we may have from time to time, we are a free people and can correct the things that need to be corrected.

But what throws an ominous shadow over the world is the self-perpetuating dictatorship in the Kremlin, where a handful of people, supported by the military, imposes its will not only on its own people but is attempting to impose it on the rest of the world.

The principle source of the difficulties the world has been having in trying to establish a basis for peace is the Kremlin's ruthless dictatorship.

Khrushchev even had the audacity to inject himself into our internal affairs and the coming elections by serving notice that he would no longer deal with us except through the next president, providing he finds the next president to his liking. Never has so gross an insult been hurled at the American people by the head of a nation.

What seems to me to be more to the point is that the free world would breathe easier and be more hopeful that peace could be possible if Dictator Khrushchev were succeeded by someone capable

of more reason and sense and wiser in the ways of the world. I hope that some day the good people of Russia, who have never known free government, will join with other free peoples to put an end to dictatorships which are always provocative of wars.

For 15 years, ever since the end of the bloodiest war in history, most of our obstacles in trying to organize for peace have been in the Kremlin, where the masters and the plotters of subversion, espionage and aggression have had their world headquarters.

Three presidents have traveled to meet with the Russian dictators in an effort to reach agreements and cooperation for more peaceful relations.

Major agreements were entered into and almost immediately thereafter broken in total disregard not only of the pledges made but in violation of the hopes of the new world we had been trying to build.

Every world crisis we have had since the end of the war has been Russian inspired and Russian planned. The cold war is Russian made. The record of Soviet betrayals and bedevilment of would-be free countries is unprecedented in history. Just look at what the Kremlin has done to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary.

The free world may have made mistakes. But they have been mistakes of judgment and not of evil intent.

But the free governments of the West will continue tireless and patient in their search for peace and a working agreement with Russia, supported by strength to maintain that peace. The free countries of the West will not be panicked by Kremlin threats or Khrushchev's displays of temper and name calling, so reminiscent of the rages of Hitler, who, too, was foredoomed to failure.

And lest Khrushchev and the Kremlin masters forget, it was American aid that helped save the Russian people from foreign subjugation. And I think it is about time they were again reminded of it.

Those of us who have had direct experience in dealing with the Kremlin are surprised that anyone in authority could have been surprised at what happened to the summit conference in Paris.

This meeting was just another opportunity for the Russians to renew threats and to launch further Communist propaganda in an

attempt to divide the free world and to break up the NATO and the Pacific alliances.

I think that no further summit meetings can now be held, except under the auspices of the United Nations. I know something of the nature of summit meetings and I know they won't work as they are conducted. The fate of the world should not be thrown into jeopardy by exposing it to the whim of any one man who sets himself up as final authority. The United Nations was established to prevent the arbitrary imposition of the will of any one person or nation on the rest of the world. The summit conference has been nothing but an attempt to bypass the United Nations and thereby in the long run to destroy its usefulness and role as a force for peace.

After my meetings with Stalin and Churchill and Attlee at Potsdam, I refused to hold any further meetings of heads of government as long as I was president.

I have little faith in summit meetings as a means of negotiating solutions for problems that divide us from the Communist world. Russia's failure to keep agreements made at Yalta and Potsdam made any such further meetings of heads of state useless. Stalin, by ignoring his obligations solemnly entered into, was in effect trying to impose his own will upon the free world.

Khrushchev in Paris recently attempted to distort history once again by saying that the death of President Roosevelt ended a period of good relations between the United States and Russia.

But the truth is that for some time before Roosevelt died Russia was making relations between our two countries difficult.

Long before Roosevelt undertook the arduous journey to Yalta, he had already indicated misgivings about Russia's intentions with some of us. On his return, when he and I met to arrange for his appearance before a joint session of Congress to report on Yalta, he confided to me his concern about Stalin's attitude and Russia's role in the future.

When, on the death of Roosevelt, I became president, I was soon to realize the difficulties we would have with Communist Russia. When Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin asked me to arrange to meet with them to discuss future plans, I was at first

reluctant to agree to such a meeting. But because at that time we were anxious to get Russia to open up another front against Japan, I went to Potsdam. We entered into 32 agreements at Potsdam, none of which were kept by Stalin or his successors. It was clear to me after that what the United States and the free world were up against and what we had to do to meet the situation.

Khrushchev has been renewing his threat to make a separate peace treaty with East Germany, although he well knows that there can be no final peace treaty regarding Germany unless France, Britain and the United States are parties to such a treaty. And the West will not agree to a final peace treaty with Germany until all Germany is united in a free election, as Stalin agreed to do at the conferences at Yalta and Potsdam.

This is also the time to remind Khrushchev that under the agreements covering the occupation of Germany, the Four Powers--Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union--were to act in joint control of all occupied areas and that no one of the four Allies was to exercise exclusive control or veto over any one part of the occupied territory.

If Khrushchev now attempts to sign a separate treaty with East Germany, he will be adding yet another violation to a long series. And he may be sure that the Allies will not yield to his arbitrary breach of an agreement, and if he insists on going through with it, it will be Khrushchev who will precipitate a dangerous situation.

Khrushchev, in his further effort to twist history, cites our separate negotiations for a treaty with Japan as an excuse for his making a separate treaty with East Germany. In the first place, there is absolutely no parallel between events in Japan and Germany. Russia's participation in the war against Japan was not only a mere token but belated and of no help. Russia moved only when the risk was small and designed to provide her with an opportunity for loot and reparations, to strip Manchuria, which she did, and to stake out her territorial claims on China.

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But the primary reason why Russia was excluded from the negotiations with Tokyo for a final peace treaty was my determination to avoid repetition of the experience we had with Russia in Germany.

I feared that if Russia employed the same tactics of division, confusion, propaganda and subversion in Japan, we would never be able to restore Japan to normal life or achieve peaceful relations with her. The recovery of Japan and her quick rise to a position of respect, honor and responsibility among the free nations would have been thwarted by Russia, as is now the case with the puppet setup in East Germany.

The difference between East Germany and West Germany is understandably irritating to Khrushchev and his military clique. He does not dare tell his own people what the rest of the world knows--why there is that difference.

It is the difference between slavery and freedom. And there is no better example of the difference between freedom and slavery than what the Japanese people were able to do with our help and what the Russians would have imposed on Japan if we had allowed them to meddle and divide there as they did in Germany.

The experience that we had with Russia in her violation of agreements for free elections by the governments in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania also left us no choice but to avoid involvement with her in Japan.

Ominous as the outlook seems at the moment, I do not think Russia will dare to embroil the world in war, for she knows the consequences to her as to everyone else in such a senseless business.

So long as Russia insists on using methods short of war we must not give her any reason to suppose that we are weak or can be bullied into submission to her designs.

We will never yield to appeasement but always keep the door open to peaceful negotiations through the United Nations.

End Truman-Khrushchev.

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